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### «Martin fights in July, and he strikes St. Vaast with the font.»

A Cisiojanus and a Child's Alphabet in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson Liturgical E 40

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A Cisiojanus and a Child's Alphabet  
in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson Liturgical E 40**

*Abstract : The manuscript Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson Liturgical E 40 is a prayer book made in three parts: a calendar with a Cisiojanus in French; an alphabet and some basic texts given to children in Latin; and finally Latin prayers with indulgences. The manuscript has been described in two catalogues which date it to the fourteenth century and the sixteenth, respectively. Here we re-evaluate the manuscript's contents and structure and analyze the Cisiojanus (providing an annotated edition of this unusual and largely unknown poem), in order to re-date the manuscript and suggest a context for its genesis. We propose that the manuscript was made at the end of the fifteenth century in a retardataire style for a French noble child as an 'instant heirloom'. It was constructed in stages to help the child learn to read.*

*Résumé : Le manuscrit Rawlinson Liturgical E 40 de la Bodleian Library d'Oxford nous offre un livre de prières en trois parties : un calendrier avec un Cisiojanus en français ; un alphabet et quelques textes élémentaires en latin pour enfants ; ensuite des prières latines avec indulgences. Pour la datation on hésite, dans les catalogues, entre le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle et le XVI<sup>e</sup>. L'examen du contenu et de la structure du manuscrit ainsi que l'analyse du Cisiojanus (comprenant une édition commentée de ce texte d'un genre pratiquement inconnu de nos jours) nous mènent à dater le manuscrit de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, et à proposer un contexte pour sa fabrication. A notre idée le manuscrit pourrait avoir été fait dans un style archaisant à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle pour pourvoir un enfant noble français d'un 'héritage-minute', construit autour de la partie qui devait l'aider à apprendre à lire.*

Medieval children's literature, which had long been enigmatic, has become an increasingly well-defined category of medieval literature. Recent articles have identified individual manuscripts, as well as particular texts, which were designed to be used by children in the Middle Ages<sup>1</sup>. Children's manuscripts are not always easy to identify, but they often contain a few basic elements : an alphabet with a kiss-cross, the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*. This article treats a manuscript probably made in Paris, which includes these texts (Oxford, Bodleian, MS

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<sup>1</sup> See for example, K. M. Rudy, « An Illustrated Mid-Fifteenth-Century Primer for a Flemish Girl : British Library, Harley MS 3828 », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 69, 2006, p. 51-94 ; R. S. Wieck, « Special Children's Books of Hours in the Walters Art Museum », *'Als ich can'. Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 12), ed. B. Cardon, J. Van der Stock, and D. Vanwijnsberghe, Leuven, 2002, p. 1629-1639 ; and R. S. Wieck, « *Avis rarissima* : A Medieval Manuscript Made for a Child », *Yale University Library Gazette*, LXXIII, 1988, p. 74-75.

Rawlinson Liturgical E 40)<sup>2</sup>. It also contains other texts whose function as children's learning tools remains more tentative, including a vernacular French text known as the *Cisiojanus*, a series of rhyming mnemonic devices which will be considered at length below. In addition to this unusual text, there is an aura of uncertainty about the manuscript concerning its date, its exact function, and its original readership, which this article will also tackle.

### *The Physical Book and its Troublesome Dating*

Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson Liturgical E 40 is a prayer book written in Latin and French on parchment<sup>3</sup>. The most noteworthy element of its codicological makeup is its unusually large script and concomitantly wide ruling (fig. 1). Specifically, the text block is 118 x 85 mm, with only 10 lines per folio, meaning that the line height is just under 12 mm, which is very large indeed. The ample-sized letters are written very clearly, in a high-quality and somewhat florid *textualis*, with few abbreviations. The text block only fills a fraction of the vellum surface (200 x 145 mm), surrounded by very large margins, suggesting a rather lavish production for which the expenses for vellum were not spared. It is possible that the wide ruling and large letters bear on the function of the book as a teaching tool.

The manuscript has been mentioned on at least three occasions, revealing much confusion about its date. In his catalogue of western manuscripts, Falconer Madan lists the manuscript as a XVI<sup>th</sup>-century production, citing the reference to « Clemens papa VII<sup>us</sup>, » which the cataloguer interprets as Pope Clement VII (1523-34)<sup>4</sup>.

Berthold Wolpe, in his 1960s article on alphabets in medieval manuscripts, interprets this line as a reference to the antipope Clement, who reigned from Avignon from 1378-94<sup>5</sup>. Mentions of other popes are consistent with a late XIV<sup>th</sup>-century dating. One rubric indicates that Pope John XXII (1316-1334) offered 300 days' indulgence for reciting the « *O intemerata* » [rub.: *Johannes pp. xxii<sup>us</sup> concessit omnibus sequentem orationem dicentibus ccc dies indulgentie. Or[at]io. Inc.: O intemerata...*, fol. 127<sup>v</sup>]. This prayer was apparently especially important to the owner, whose coat of arms appears at the bottom of 127<sup>v</sup>. Moreover, an

<sup>2</sup> A notice for Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Liturgical E.40 appears in Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Vol. III: Collections received during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895, p. 511, no. 15829. It also appears in the catalogue by O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1966-1973, vol. I, p. 49, no. 621, and Pl. XLVII, no. 621.

<sup>3</sup> Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson Liturgical E 40. Prayer book in Latin and French. 171 vellum + ii + iii paper fly leaves, of 200 x 145 mm (118 x 85 mm), 10 lines/folio. See description below. The manuscript was formerly owned by N.J. Foucault, whose arms are on the binding.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2.

<sup>5</sup> B. L. Wolpe, « *Florilegium Alphabeticum*: Alphabets in Medieval Manuscripts », *Calligraphy and Paleography: Essays Presented to Alfred Fairbank*, ed. A.S. Osley, London, 1965, p. 69-74, and pl. 18-28, esp. p. 70.

indulgence credited to Pope Boniface probably refers to Boniface VIII (1294-1303) [rub.: *Bonifacius pp. concessit omnibus hanc orationem devote dicentibus xx<sup>ii</sup> dies indulgentie*. Inc.: *Adoro te domine ihesu criste qui es dulcissime panis angelorum...*, fol. 134<sup>v</sup>].

In addition to the evidence from the popes, the style of the decoration conforms to XIV<sup>th</sup>-century models, at least in some respects. The decoration includes 1-, 2-, and 4-line gilt and painted initials, and line endings containing a variety of angular geometric designs. The 2-line initials are further embroidered with vine scrolls terminating in gilt tri-petals, while the 4-line initials in Part B contain a repeated coat of arms (on fol. 40<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>). Additional coats of arms have been painted into the lower margins of fol. 127<sup>v</sup>, 142<sup>r</sup>, 157<sup>v</sup>, all in Part C. There is no figurative painting in the manuscript, since one folio (after 109) was removed at an unknown date, possibly because it bore an illumination. Although the manuscript was planned as an illuminated one, there are no illuminations that might provide clear stylistic anchors for its dating: there are blank spaces left in the manuscript, presumably for miniatures that were never painted in. These blanks appear on fol. 26<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>r</sup>, and 36<sup>r</sup>, and would mostly likely have contained portraits of the four evangelists to accompany the four gospel readings.

Berthold Wolpe identified the arms as those of Orgemont quartered with Ste Maure with overall Amboise<sup>6</sup>. As Wolpe points out, Guillaume d'Orgemont, the third son of Pierre d'Orgemont, was married to a daughter of Pierre de Ste Maure and Marguerite d'Amboise, whose name was also Marguerite. The prominence of the Amboise heraldry suggests, according to Wolpe, that the wife owned the manuscript<sup>7</sup>. He suggests that Marguerite de Ste Maure received the book upon her marriage to Guillaume d'Orgemont in 1386.

To further complicate matters, we can see that the manuscript was made in three campaigns of work, fol. 2-25 (the calendar; hereafter « Part A »); fol. 26-109 (« Part B »), and fol. 110-170 (« Part C »). (The collation is given in the appendix below.) Several facts about the three work campaigns are telling. Similar decoration (geometric line endings, initials decorated with painted and gilt vines) and coats of arms are found throughout Parts B and C, but there are some important differences: the planner of Part B left spaces for coats of arms in the initials, whereas the coats of arms in Part C had to be placed in the margins. The coats of arms in Part B have been executed with enormous care and detail (for example, as on fol. 48<sup>r</sup>, fig. 2); those in Part C have been executed more quickly (as, for example, at the lower margin of fol. 157<sup>v</sup>, fig. 3). Furthermore, one-line initials in Part C are decorated with tendrils terminating in gilt tri-petals, which is not the case for Part B, where such tendrils are reserved for two-line initials. Both Parts B and C are ruled for 10 lines, but Part C was ruled with darker ink and its text block is about 5 mm wider. The two parts were probably written by different scribes: The scribe of Part B has more florid ascenders and descenders, while the scribe of Part C writes in a more angular and controlled hand. Part C was certainly made to resemble Part B and continues the very widely-spaced rulings and large margins and enormous script found in Part B.

<sup>6</sup> Wolpe prints erroneously 'd'Ogremont' instead of 'd'Orgemont'.

<sup>7</sup> Wolpe, « *Florilegium Alfabeticum* » (as in n. 5), p. 70.

What is certainly interesting is that the manuscript is made in a retardataire style, based on fourteenth-century models for its decoration, but with a text that seems to be copied, at least in part (the calendar, part A), from an incunabula source. The gilt tri-petals are typical of a late XIV<sup>th</sup>-century production, while the geometric line-fillers typify production around 1500. Stylistically, therefore, this manuscript appears to be a pastiche of old and new styles.

We have not presented the manuscript's troublesome dating only because it presents a puzzle, but also because it might provide a key to a larger puzzle: What was the function of this manuscript? Perhaps it was designed to look older than it was so that it could be presented to a child as an heirloom, even though it had just been freshly commissioned around 1500.

### *A manuscript for a child?*

The manuscript is a prayer book: it does not contain the Hours of the Virgin or the Vigils of the Dead, and can therefore not be classified as a Book of Hours. It is possible that the presumably young owner would receive a Book of Hours upon his (or her) marriage. Like other manuscripts made for children, this one contains texts associated with teaching children to read and teaching them the basic tenets of the Christian faith: an alphabet, the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*, some benedictions, the *Confiteor*, and the prayer *Ave salus mundi verbum*. These texts, often copied roughly in this order, appear in a number of other late medieval manuscripts that have been identified as children's primers.

As do most late medieval prayer books, this one contains a calendar; however, the calendar is unusual in several ways. It is full, providing a saint for every day of the year, and, whereas most medieval calendars fill six or at most twelve folios, this one fills twenty-four (fol. 2<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup>). Apart from the enormous script, the other reason that the calendar is so large is that it includes twelve short stanzas distributed as an appendix to each month that together form a «Cisiojanus». They will be analyzed at length below.

Part C, which continues the very large script, may have been made as an amendment to Part B, to be used when the child became a few years older, perhaps 7-10 years of age. An important textual difference between Parts B and C, is that Part B contains all of the texts associated with teaching children to read, as outlined above. None of these texts is prefaced by a rubric indicating that it was indulgenced. Part C, on the other hand, contains 14 texts, 11 of which are indulgenced. Part C even begins with a text about varieties of sinning. It seems to be a feature of late medieval young children's literature that it does not contain indulgenced texts, but that such texts might be added when the child grew a bit older<sup>8</sup>. This part of the manuscript might have been added after the child reached the age when he/she could sin, sometimes defined as seven.

The texts in Part C begin with a contemplation of sin, and continue with texts that are designed to diminish the years in purgatory after having sinned. They then include an indulgenced prayer to the Seven Joys of the Virgin (114<sup>r</sup>-121<sup>r</sup>); and a

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<sup>8</sup> A similar suggestion has been made regarding the texts for London, British Library Harley MS 3828, for which see n. 1 above.

second indulgenced prayer in praise of her joys, this time presented in rhyming verse (121<sup>r</sup>-122<sup>v</sup>). On a related theme, there is a prayer to Christ on the Seven Joys of the Virgin (one of the few prayers in this section that is not indulgenced). The text then provides an indulgenced *Stabat mater* (124<sup>r</sup>-127<sup>v</sup>). A group of prayers about the sacrament of the Eucharist follows, namely, an indulgenced *Adoro te domine Ihesu Christe*, which is quite uncommon (134<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>v</sup>); an indulgenced *Deprecor te domina* (137<sup>v</sup>-139<sup>r</sup>); an indulgenced *Benedicatur hora qua deus homo natus est* (139<sup>v</sup>-140<sup>r</sup>); the popular sacramental prayer *O Anima Christi* with an indulgence by Pope John VII for 10,000 days for those who say it in the presence of the body and blood of Christ (140<sup>r</sup>-141<sup>r</sup>); and a final sacramental prayer, *Domine Ihesu Christe qui hanc sacratissimam carnem*, with an indulgence for 2000 years (141<sup>r</sup>-142<sup>r</sup>). The manuscript finishes with a group of prayers to the Virgin, *Intemerata virgo Maria, dei genitrix* (146<sup>v</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>); another prayer to the Virgin, not indulgenced, beginning *Ave dulcissima gloriosa virgo...* (148<sup>v</sup>); an indulgenced prayer to Mary, beginning *Ave mundi spes Maria* (153<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>v</sup>); and finally the « Lamentation of St. Anselm » (157<sup>v</sup>-170<sup>v</sup>), on which the patrons have also had their coat of arms painted.

There are also two different versions of the *O Intemerata*. One of these (127<sup>r</sup>-134<sup>v</sup>), carries an indulgence of 300 days given by Pope John XXII (fig. 4). This is the more unusual and less known version of *O Intemerata*, and it originated in the XIV<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>. It is addressed only to the Virgin, rather to the Virgin and the apostle John together, as is the original version from the XII<sup>th</sup> century. This earlier version, which is copied into the Rawlinson manuscript on fol. 142<sup>r</sup>-146<sup>r</sup>, is not normally indulgenced (fig. 5)<sup>10</sup>. The patrons must have had a particular affection for the *O Intemerata*, for the incipits of both versions have coats of arms painted into the margin (on fol. 127<sup>v</sup>, and 142<sup>r</sup>).

Part C may have been prefaced by an image – a frontispiece to that section – which was cut out of the manuscript (after fol. 109). Given the nature of the texts in Part C, this image might have depicted a Last Judgment, or possibly an image of the book's young user with the Virgin Mary, who figures prominently in the indulgenced prayers in Part C.

### Alphabet

The presence of an alphabet (fol. 40<sup>r</sup>) clearly marks the manuscript as one for use as a teaching guide (see fig. 1). This alphabet, like nearly all medieval alphabets made to teach children their letters, begins with a « kiss cross », indicating that the child was to cross himself before reciting the letters. Square punctuation clearly separates each letter from its neighbor. The alphabet provides alternative forms of letters where they exist, namely, three forms of *a*, and two of *r*, *s*, and *u/v*. Furthermore, like most medieval teaching alphabets, this one terminates with common Latin abbreviations: those for *et*, *con*, and *est*, as well as various strokes that are written above the letter. In this case, the copyist has used the letter *t* as a place holder, above which these abbreviations appear, even though the first of these strokes – a straight stroke above the letter, usually denoting a missing *m* or *n*, makes

<sup>9</sup> A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin*, Paris, 1971 (1932), p. 493-495.

<sup>10</sup> See A. Wilmart, as in n. 9, p. 474-504, esp. p. 488-490.

no sense above the letter *t*. The alphabet finishes with the abbreviations for *responsus* and *versus*, which are terms that appear frequently in liturgical books and Books of Hours, suggesting that this book provided the training ground for further reading in Latin.

The opening 39<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup> – the one with the alphabet – is the most worn one in the manuscript, with many fingerprints, and a large drop of candle wax in the gutter near the bottom, suggesting that someone has read this opening by candlelight. Fol. 40<sup>r</sup> contains a large coat of arms in a 4-line P at the start of the *Pater Noster*, once again showing that at both the time of the manuscript's conception and during its use, this was the most important opening in the book.

#### *Other manuscripts written for children*

In support of the hypothesis that this manuscript (or at least parts of it) were made for a child, we can point to another manuscript made for a child in a style that is at once highly luxurious and fantastically retardataire. That manuscript, now kept in the Special Collections Library of Columbia University in New York City, forms part of the collection given by Plimpton, who assembled a large number of objects used as pedagogical materials in the early modern period before giving his collection to Columbia (fig. 6)<sup>11</sup>. What is so unusual about this manuscript is that it is written entirely in silver and gold ink. Even the expunctuation – where the scribe needed to «erase» the words «*adveniat regnum*» on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> which he had inscribed twice accidentally – was done with tiny gold dots. Moreover, the gold and silver script was inscribed onto vellum that had been dyed purple, like the great Codex Aureus and other lavish early medieval manuscript productions. The text, however, is for a child, and it features the Alphabet with a «kiss cross», the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*. The manuscript, in other words, was a gift to a child, possibly meant to enforce the idea that reading is something great, that both the act of reading and the books they imply are worthy of silver and gold. This child's book, in other words, was made in a lavish retardataire style. While the Plimpton manuscript and the Rawlinson manuscript are quite different productions, they both demonstrate that parents gave their children 'instant heirlooms', manuscripts that may have been new but looked old and carried with them the gravity of family history.

Manuscript 73 J 55 of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague provides us with another example of a book that was assembled to suit the needs of a growing child. The manuscript (195 x 150 mm) was produced in three stages during the second half of the XV<sup>th</sup> century, probably in Eastern France. The different parts are in two, maybe three, different hands; the text block in the second part is smaller than that of the first and third part and the quality of the vellum of the first part is not the same as that of the rest of the book. However the 12 miniatures throughout the codex stem from the same workshop, and are probably all by the same, unknown,

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<sup>11</sup> New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 287. Manuscript on vellum, 4 fols., 176 x 123. Written in the second half of the XV<sup>th</sup> century, in a Burgundian bâtarde script.

miniaturist<sup>12</sup>. The first part (fol. 1-26) contains the *Disticha Catonis*, the Latin text together with the French translation by Jean le Fèvre. The Cato text was widely used as a sort of primer for children, and this copy is indeed in larger letters and on thicker vellum than that used in the other parts of the book. It forms a booklet on its own, introduced by a miniature on the first page. The second part of the manuscript (fol. 27-50, written in another hand with smaller script in a smaller text block on different vellum, with a unique way of putting the catchwords) provides two chapters of *La Somme le Roi* of Laurent du Bois. The bulk of the book however is made up by the third part (fol. 51-142, with a larger text block, possibly by the same hand as the second part, partially different type of ruling), which contains *Les heures de contemplacion sur la Passion de Nostre Seigneur* by Christine de Pizan, a very short abstract of a Sermon of Albert the Great, *Les Vigiles des Morts* by Pierre de Nesson, and as last text *Un enseignement moult piteux* by Jean de Remin. The different texts are introduced by a miniature; the text of Christine de Pizan is the only one to include miniatures within the text itself.

Looking at the contents of the book, one can see that it is a compilation of moral (first and second part) and pious texts (third part). In fact the first two texts tell us how to live well and seem to serve as a prelude to the rest of the book, the more religiously coloured texts that tell us how to live and die as a good Christian. Could we assume then that the basis for this book was the third part (well illustrated, with more or less religious texts), and that the owner (probably a pious lady, given that the text of Christine de Pizan is addressed to women in the first place) has wanted to guide the moral and spiritual education of a (grand)child, and thus has asked a local workshop to provide her with the two other parts of the book? If so, then the child would start with 'how to behave' according to Cato's text (in larger letters that are easier to decipher for a starting reader), then read about the vices to shun (the two chapters of the *Somme le Roi*), before reflecting on the demands of a Christian life as exemplified in the rest of the book. The quality of execution of this manuscript is far poorer than that of the Rawlinson; yet in both cases we seem to have a book that is put together of different parts, but with the needs of a growing child in mind.

### *The Calendar : A Cisiojanus in French*

Medieval Books of Hours and prayer books often contain a calendar, although the format can vary widely. Some contain a limited number of Holy Days and Saints' Days, while the remaining days are left blank, other calendars are brimming with Saints, as is the case with the copy in the Rawlinson manuscript. Many calendars reveal the particular city or region for which they were made by including locally-celebrated feast days in red or gold. Our calendar is based on a very common Parisian model. Not only were calendars produced in a variety of styles, they can be found as well in almost all known medieval languages; sometimes the text of the calendar (the saints' names) is in a language that differs

<sup>12</sup> See R. Stuip, « Unité de l'enluminure, unité du manuscrit ? À propos d'un manuscrit contenant une copie des *Heures de Contemplacion* de Christine de Pizan (La Haye, KB, 73 J 55) », forthcoming.



from that of the main text of the book. In the case of the Rawlinson we have a calendar in French, in a book that is written in Latin.

The calendar in this manuscript presents the particular feature that at the end of every month there is a stanza of four short lines in French, rhyming two by two (*aabb*), in which the most important saints or religious feasts of the month are mentioned or alluded to (fig. 7). At the same time the number of syllables for each stanza reflects the number of days for that particular month, so for instance the number of syllables for January is 31. The syllable units are written separately, which facilitates the counting of the days. When the text reads 'En.jan.vier. que.les.roys.ve.nus.sont', we know that 'ROYs' is the sixth syllable, hence January 6, the day the three Magi or Kings adored the newborn Jesus. In his great study on *Les Livres d'Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927) the abbot V. Leroquais cites (Vol. I, p. xvii) some lines of this type of rhyme he had found in four of the over 300 handwritten Books of Hours he had studied, and adds: « Rares aussi ces quatrains sur les mois qui foisonnent dans les livres d'Heures imprimés ». Paul Lacombe, in his 1907 study on early printed Books of Hours, had mentioned their presence in quite a number of the editions he had seen, and explained how the mnemonic functioned<sup>13</sup>. Long before him Eustache-Hyacinthe Langlois had talked about these « mauvaises rimes françaises, fort bizarres, n'offrant aucun sens raisonnable », but he perfectly understood their use. He even gave the full text for the stanzas of the twelve months he had encountered in his old books<sup>14</sup>.

This poetical device for remembering special days and counting the days of the month, known as *Cisio Janus* (from *Circumcisio*, *Januarius*), was developed in the XII<sup>th</sup> century in Latin calendars written in Germany. It was used in Germany, Scandinavia and the Low Countries in Latin and, later on, in vernacular variants<sup>15</sup>. The later developments show, particularly in the vernacular variants, sometimes a less-than-respectful tone, and introduce saints in funny situations, as is the case in our text where we see several saints drinking too much.

<sup>13</sup> P. Lacombe, *Livres d'Heures imprimés au XV<sup>e</sup> et au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris. Catalogue*, Paris, 1907, p. l-liv.

<sup>14</sup> E.-H. Langlois, *Essai sur la calligraphie des manuscrits du moyen-âge et sur les ornements des premiers livres d'heures imprimés*, Rouen, 1841. (See the chapter « Des anciennes heures gothiques imprimées », esp. p. 129-143.)

<sup>15</sup> In the *Verfasserlexikon*<sup>2</sup> I, col.1285-1289 (by Arne Holtorf) and in the extensive article by H. A. Hilgers, « Versuch über deutsche Cisiojani », *Poesie und Gebrauchsliteratur im deutschen Mittelalter*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1979, p. 127-163, the accent is on the Latin and the German examples of this literary type. The numerous Dutch versions have been studied by R. Jansen-Sieben, « Christus wart inden wynter besneden », *Miscellanea Martin Wittek*, Louvain – Paris, Peeters, 1993, p. 233-242 ; see also Youri Desplenter, « Vrouwe, laet Jan de mamme suyken / Barthelmees in een kolkuyken: Een Middelnederlandse cisiojaan in een bijzonder Hollands psalter (ca. 1485) », *Queeste*, 15, 1, 2008, p. 36-54. The French versions seem not to have been studied. Brief mentions are to be found in the greater dictionaries of religious usages. For an (incomplete) Cisiojanus in a Book of Hours from Besançon (1504) see : M. Porte, « Les livres d'heures comtois dans la première partie du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle », *La Franche-Comté à la charnière du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance [...]*, éd. par P. Delsalle et L. Delobette, PUFC, 2003, p. 435-452.

The original Latin versions were all based on syllable counting, as are the French examples that have come to light. There are also German and Dutch versions that are based on word counting (rather than syllable counting), which yields a much longer poem, or even versions based on line counting, which generates a 'poem' of 365 lines. Because the texts were meant to be learnt by heart, the longer texts were more prone to corruption. Even the syllabic Cisiójani were not always handed down to the next generation in the orthodox form. Of this degeneration we encounter some examples in our text: for instance in the second line of January we read 'Guillaume' (10.01), which in fact is a syllable too long, as it pushes the saints Fermin and Maurus out of their normal place (13.01 and 15.01). In all the other French texts we have seen, 'Guillaume' reads more correctly 'Glaume'.

In an article published in 1985, Rolf Max Kully focuses on this 'genre bâlard', rediscovered in the 1970's<sup>16</sup>. He mainly discusses the Latin tradition from the XII<sup>th</sup> to the XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries and adds: « Malheureusement, nous n'avons pas le temps de traiter de la tradition vernaculaire qui commence par des versions sérieuses au 13<sup>e</sup> siècle et trouve sa décadence dans des parodies au 16<sup>e</sup> siècle. »<sup>17</sup> Kully traces the genre back to the late XII<sup>th</sup> century, and places its origins in central or western Germany. According to him the Cisiójanus was part of elementary education in Latin, but was used as well by adults, hence the necessity to translate it into the vernacular. « On a donc écrit toute une série de poèmes en allemand ainsi qu'en néerlandais, tandis que des versions anglaises, françaises, danoises, suédoises, tchèques et polonaises restent sporadiques. »<sup>18</sup> Since then more versions in other vernaculars have been unearthed. It remains notable, however, that manuscript versions from the more western reaches of Europe (French, English) seem to be rare. For this reason we print here the full text of this French Cisiójanus, together with some explanatory remarks.

The version contained in Rawlinson Liturgical E 40 would have been of particular interest as it would have predated the first known examples of vernacular variants in French, if the manuscript could be dated about 1386 as Wolpe would have it<sup>19</sup>, but the calendar – along with its rhymes – seems to date from the end of the XV<sup>th</sup> century, as we will see.

The Cisiójanus in Rawlinson Liturgical E 40 is almost identical to the one in *Hore ad usum Romanum*, printed by Pigouchet pour Simon Vostre, Paris, 25 Febr. 1497, as published in 2002 by Erik Drigsdahl on the website CHD ([www.chd.dk](http://www.chd.dk)). Drigsdahl claims that this version is « Found in a large number of Hore printed in Paris from 1490 ». The text is again almost identical to the one published in 1862 by Jos. Maria Wagner from Vienna, in the journal *Serapeum* (23, 297-299), based on a Parisian Book of Hours from the early XVI<sup>th</sup> century, « imprimées a Paris par Guillaume anabat [...] pour Gillet hardouin libraire demourant au bout du pont au change en lanseigne de la Rose. Et pour germain hardouin [...] ». No doubt it is to books like this that points a discussion in the *Mercure de France* of 1746, in the

<sup>16</sup> R. M. Kully, « Cisiójanus : comment savoir le calendrier par cœur », *jeux de mémoire*, Presses de l'Université de Montréal et Librairie Vrin, Montréal et Paris, 1985, p.149-156.

<sup>17</sup> Kully, p.150.

<sup>18</sup> Kully, p.154.

<sup>19</sup> B. Wolpe, « *Florilegium Alphabeticum* » (as in n. 5).

June and August issues. The authors of letters addressed to the Editors discuss the text of an (incomplete) rhyme in French, that has been found in a Missal and, by a second author, in an ancient Book of Hours. Finally the Editors publish the text for « [I]es douze mois de l'année, qui nous ont été envoyés par M. Fauquette, Expert Ecrivain, pensionné de M.M. les Magistrats de la Ville de Lille ; il nous écrit qu'il les a tirés d'un livre de velin sans aucune date, intitulé : *Heures à l'usage de Rome tout au long, sans rien requérir, avec les figures de l'Apocalypse & plusieurs autres histoires.* »<sup>20</sup> Then follows the text of the Cisiogianus, which is the same as the one in the Rawlinson manuscript.

We have come across several other handwritten copies : **1/** a leaf of a calendar, November-December, offered for sale (early 2009) by a antiquarian in Amsterdam and now in a private collection, London. The entries in the calendar are in Latin, they are of a common type ; about half of the days are left blank. The text of the Cisiogianus is in French, and appears to be written in another hand ; syllables are separated by punctuation. The text is the same as that in Rawlinson. **2/** Much has been published about « one of the finest manuscripts owned by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague », i.e the Book of Hours of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (Ms. 76 F 2). The calendar at the beginning of this important book has been studied, but as far as we know the Cisiogianus in French and the *Regimen sanitatis per circulum anni* in Latin that have been added in different hands in the lower margin of the same leaves have not received a lot of attention. Calendar, Cisiogianus and *Regimen* are in three different hands, and seem to have been written in three stages. The calendar is in French, each day lists a saint, but the collection of saints mentioned seems to be of an unusual type<sup>21</sup>. In a recent article about the Duke's Book of Hours Anne Korteweg states : « We can now also be certain that the book passed into other hands around 1500 and that the new owner of the book adapted it to suit his own needs, while trying to maintain the character of the original manuscript as far as possible. Such an 'antiquarian' attitude towards an older object was not uncommon at the time. »<sup>22</sup> The Cisiogianus is exactly the one we have seen already several times, handwritten or printed. **3-6/** Four manuscripts of the Fonds Latin in the BnF give a Cisiogianus in French : lat. 1375, lat. 13268, lat. 14829, and lat. 18021. **7/** Harvard, Houghton Library, MS. Lat. 251, a Book of Hours in Latin kindly signaled by a colleague, presents on fol. 1-12<sup>v</sup> a calendar and a Cisiogianus in French ; the manuscript is dated 1495-1500. **8/** Finally another colleague drew our attention to a version of the Cisiogianus contained in the 1496 edition of the *Compost et kalendrier des bergers*, printed for Guiot Marchant in Paris<sup>23</sup>, which has in some instances a very different text, and gives some more saints than the other French texts we know of. It should be added, however, that in this case the text is given as a rhyme of 24 lines in its own right, with an introduction as how to use it. It is not, as

<sup>20</sup> *Mercure de France*, Aoust, 1746, p. 77.

<sup>21</sup> Erik Drigsdahl is preparing an article on this particular calendar. His study should appear in *Scriptorium*.

<sup>22</sup> A. Korteweg, « The Book of Hours of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in The Hague and its later adaptation », *Corpus van verluchte handschriften*. Vol. 11, Low Countries Series 8. Edited by B. Cardon, Leuven, Peeters, 2002, p. 757-771.

<sup>23</sup> Published on <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148>.

is the case for the examples of the other version we have seen, added in stanzas of four lines to each individual month of the calendar.

It means that the copies of the Cisiojanus in French we know of can be divided into two different versions: on the one hand we have version **R**: [manuscripts] Rawlinson; London fragment; Book of Hours of the Duke of Burgundy; the four copies in the Fonds Latin of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (although two of them present some alterations in one or two lines), and the copy in the Houghton Library; [prints] *Horae* mentioned by Drigsdahl and by Wagner, *Mercure de France*, and Langlois (n. 14). On the other hand we have version **C**: *Compost*, with only one (printed) representative so far (although manuscript BnF lat. 13268 presents the same text for the month of January). As far as dates are concerned, the printed copies are all from the 1490s or later. The manuscripts present the same text as the printed ones; the calendar in the Book of Hours of the Duke of Burgundy seems to be from around 1500, and the Cisiojanus seems to have been added later still in a different hand; the hand of the Amsterdam fragment seems to be late as well; the copies found in the Books of Hours in the Fonds Latin of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the one in the Houghton Library are all from the end of the XV<sup>th</sup> or early XVI<sup>th</sup> century: is there any reason why the Rawlinson copy should be from around 1386?

### Conclusions

As we have seen above, there are conflicting views on the date of the manuscript: Madan<sup>24</sup> in the Catalogue of the Bodleian ascribes it to the XVI<sup>th</sup> century after 1523, Wolpe<sup>25</sup> would make it a manuscript of the end of the XIV<sup>th</sup>.

Madan's dating seems questionable. His interpretation of Clement VII as the XVI<sup>th</sup>-century pope is most certainly not correct, as most of France considered the Avignon « anti-pope » Clement VII (1378-94) to be the legitimate pope<sup>26</sup>. The dates of papacy of the other Clement VII (1523-34) should be considered a *terminus ante quem* rather than as a *terminus post quem*. A further argument against the late dating has to do with its quality: the manuscript was produced by at least two scribes, and probably by three. The quality of the script is extremely high, and it is unlikely that three scribes of such skill could have been found in the third decade of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, when most book production had turned to the printing press<sup>27</sup>. Moreover, the content does not point to the XVI<sup>th</sup> century: Clement VII is rarely mentioned in rubrics as a pope who indulgenced a prayer, and when he is, he is usually listed in a long list of popes who have granted, doubled, or modified an indulgence. For example, in Brussels, Royal Library, ms. 12079, we find the XVI<sup>th</sup>-century Clement VII in a list of popes who have given indulgences for reciting the *Adoro te in cruce pendentem* (fol. 108<sup>v</sup>-111<sup>r</sup>). That list includes Gregorius, Innocentius IV, Nicolas V, Calixtus IV, Clemens VII, Sixtus IV, Innocentius VIII, Julius II. In the section of the

<sup>24</sup> See n. 4.

<sup>25</sup> See n. 5.

<sup>26</sup> One could add that *Virgo templum trinitatis...*, linked to Clemens VII in the manuscript, is at times ascribed to pope Clemens VI, and that the mention *in consilio ludunense* that accompanies his name cannot apply to any Clemens.

<sup>27</sup> We are grateful to Peter Gumbert for his suggestions about the dating.

Rawlinson manuscript that gives a number of indulgenced prayers, none of the late XV<sup>th</sup>- and early XVI<sup>th</sup>-century popes who were especially generous with indulgences – such as Sixtus IV (1471-84), or Julius II (1503-13) – is mentioned. If the manuscript were a very late production, these indulgence-friendly popes would certainly have been credited in the rubrics. Finally, the values of the indulgences in the Rawlinson manuscript are generally measured in days, rather than in years: because of aggressive indulgence inflation in the years just before the Reformation, most indulgences that postdate 1500 are measured in years, or in thousands of years. The Rawlinson manuscript, quaintly, still gives them in days, a feature we would expect from a XIV<sup>th</sup>- or early XV<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript. (The only exception – an indulgence of 2000 years, given by pope Boniface VI [r. 896], for *Domine Ihesu Christe qui hanc sacratissimam carnem* on fol. 141<sup>r</sup> – seems to be the norm already in the second half of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century.)

That having been said, the XIV<sup>th</sup>-century dating is untenable. Although Wolpe's solution to the dating and localization of the manuscript is elegant, it cannot, unfortunately, be true. O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, cataloguing the collections at the Bodleian Library shortly after Wolpe's article was published, followed Wolpe's dating of the manuscript; they also agree that the calendar points to Paris and that the arms are those of Guillaume d'Orgemont and Marguerite de Ste Maure, who married in or around 1386<sup>28</sup>. The problem with a XIV<sup>th</sup>-century dating is the presence of St. Bernardinus in the litany among the confessors (fol. 77<sup>v</sup>). This must be Bernardinus of Siena, who died in 1444 and was canonized 1450. This part of the manuscript therefore must postdate 1450. The fact that Bernardinus is not mentioned in the calendar underscores the different provenance of the various parts of the manuscript, or at least suggests that Parts A, B, and C were copied from separate models.

We can also note that the feast day for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin is given in the calendar in red. In 1476, Sixtus IV ratified the Office for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, extending an indulgence to anyone who attended Mass on the feast day, 8 December. For those who celebrated this Office, he promised an indulgence. These benefits were published in bulls of 1476 and 1477<sup>29</sup>. However, the presence of the feast day for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin appears in many French calendars that predate Sixtus IV's papacy; therefore, the fact that this feast day is in red should not necessarily be taken as a *terminus post quem*.

One more fact might be relevant in fixing a date to this manuscript. Namely, the presence of the Cisiojanus in the calendar. The possible references to the Hundred Years' War in the Cisiojanus for October seem to point to a situation when fate had turned against the English, i.e. after the loss of Orléans and the French victory of Patay in 1429, but when the English still held Normandy. As we have seen, all the other copies of a French Cisiojanus seem to point to the end of the XV<sup>th</sup> century. An error in the calendar – specifically, St. Vist erroneously inscribed for St. Iust on 4 December – repeats an error also found in the calendar printed in 1490. It

<sup>28</sup> Pächt and Alexander (as above, n. 2).

<sup>29</sup> S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983, 27.

does not, however, follow automatically that the manuscript is a copy of a printed source ; rather, both the printed calendar and the Rawlinson manuscript could have a common source. The exact date of the production of the calendar is also a subject of speculation : it is written on the same kind of vellum with the same ruling as Part B and was probably either made at the same time, or in close temporal proximity to it.

We can so far conclude that the manuscript is rather unusual in its phased genesis and that its dating is complicated, and that its production therefore must have been the result of a highly particular set of circumstances. We note that it would not have been possible in 1386 to anticipate the death and canonization of Bernardinus, (present in the Litany in part B, but absent of the calendar !) but it would have been possible after 1450 (canonization of Bernardinus) to make a manuscript in a retardataire style. Thus, we believe that this manuscript was produced in the late XV<sup>th</sup> century.

Dating the manuscript in the late XV<sup>th</sup> century creates a new set of problems, however, namely : to whom does the coat of arms belong ? We have not been able to identify a XV<sup>th</sup>-century owner of the coat of arms. It appears that no important male from the house of d'Orgemont married a woman who would have had the arms of Ste Maure and Amboise in the late XV<sup>th</sup> century. Is it therefore possible that this manuscript presents a late XV<sup>th</sup>-century copy of a XIV<sup>th</sup>-century exemplar, which copied its model's texts, decoration, and coats of arms, but which followed a more recent version of the Litany and added modern line-ending decorations ?

Could the following scenario be possible ? The parents of a young child born in Paris in the late XV<sup>th</sup> century wanted to encourage their child to read. One of the parents was a descendant of Marguerite de Ste Maure. The parents were bibliophiles and loathed giving the child a printed book, but instead wanted to give her a lavish manuscript production, a first book that would be of lasting value for future generations. In fact, they already had such a book, one that had been inherited from a great-great grandmother, Marguerite de Ste Maure. They commissioned a copy of that book, which included an alphabet, *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and other texts that were given to children to teach them to read. They also commissioned a manuscript copy of a rhyming mnemonic calendar that was circulating in printed form. In order to heighten the drama of their gift, the patrons asked to have the manuscript made in retardataire style, following the decoration of the original so that they could tell the child that the book had been in the family for a hundred years and had belonged to the child's great-great-great grandmother, whose propitious marriage had brought the family such fame in the past. They found a painter to execute the coats of arms, but did not find the appropriate person to paint the miniatures. Perhaps the exemplar from which this copy was made had already been given to the child's older sibling. We can imagine the late XV<sup>th</sup>-century child whining, « But I want one you gave to my older sister Marguerite ! » Shortly after commissioning the manuscript, the parents decided to have eight quires added to it, in a style as close as possible to the first part of the manuscript. The texts in the added part of the manuscript should have plenty of indulgences, which the child might especially need during her awkward teenage years.

This scenario makes for a rather unlikely narrative, and it is improvable. We want to underscore that this is an hypothesis. It does, however, seem to account for the particularities surrounding this manuscript.

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## Appendix A

### Description of Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawlinson Liturgical E 40

Prayer book in Latin and French. ii + 171 + ii folios on vellum, of 200 x 145 mm. Constructed in three parts (as outlined below). Text block of A, B is 118 x 85 mm, ruled for 10 lines/folio in a single column. Text block of C is 118 x 90, also ruled for 10 lines/folio in a single column.

#### Decoration

Part A : Text in dark brown, red, blue, and gold. 1- and 2-line painted and gilt initials. The 2-line initials have vine scrolls terminating in gilt tri-petals. Line endings in red, blue and gold.

Part B : Text in dark brown ink. 1- and 2-line painted and gilt initials. The 2-line initials have vine scrolls terminating in gilt tri-petals. 4-line painted and gilt initials containing coats of arms (on fol. 40<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>). Line endings in red, blue and gold. Spaces left for miniatures of 6 lines high, which were never filled in, on fol. 26<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>r</sup>, and 36<sup>r</sup>.

Part C : Text in dark brown ink. 1- and 2-line painted and gilt initials. Line endings in red, blue and gold. All of the initials, as well as the line endings, have scrolls terminating in gilt tri-petals. Coats of arms have been painted into the lower margins of fol. 127<sup>v</sup>, 142<sup>r</sup>, 157<sup>v</sup>.

#### Collation

Part A	I	8 + 1 (1 tipped in)	(fol. 1-9)	calendar
	II	8	(fol. 10-17)	calendar
	III	8	(fol. 18-25)	calendar
Part B	IV	2	(fol. 26-27)	Four Gospel Readings
	V	6	(fol. 28-33)	Four Gospel Readings
	VI	6	(fol. 34-39)	Four Gospel Readings, prayer to Mary
	VII	8	(fol. 40-47)	Alphabet, followed by basic prayers
	VIII	8	(fol. 48-55)	Penitential Psalms
	IX	8	(fol. 56-63)	Penitential Psalms
	X	8	(fol. 64-71)	Penitential Psalms
	XI	8	(fol. 72-79)	Penitential Psalms, litany
	XII	8	(fol. 80-87)	Litany, Psalms
	XIII	8	(fol. 88-95)	Psalms
	XIV	8	(fol. 96-103)	Psalms, Athanasian Creed
	XV	6	(fol. 104-109)	Athanasian Creed (cont'd)
Part C	XVI	8 - 1 (lacks 1)	(fol. 110-116)	Text about the deadly sins (begins in medias res) ; Seven Joys of the



				Virgin (indulged)
	XVII	8	(fol. 117-124)	Seven Joys of the Virgin, (cont'd), prayers to Mary and Christ ; <i>Salve mater dolorosa</i> (indulged)
	XVIII	8	(fol. 125-132)	<i>Salve mater dolorosa</i> (cont'd) ; <i>O Intemerata</i> (indulged)
	XIX	8	(fol. 133-140)	<i>O Intemerata</i> (cont'd) ; <i>Adoro te domine Ihesu Christe</i> (indulged) ; <i>Deprecor te domina</i> (indulged) ; <i>Benedicatur hora qua deus homo natus est</i> (indulged) ; <i>O Anima Christi</i> (indulged)
	XX	8	(fol. 141-148)	<i>O Anima Christi</i> (cont'd) ; <i>Domine Ihesu Christe qui hanc sacratissimam carnem</i> (indulged) ; <i>O Intemerata ... O Johannes ; Intemerata virgo Maria</i> (indulg.'d) ; <i>Ave dulcissima gloriosa virgo...</i>
	XXI	8	(fol. 149-156)	<i>Ave dulcissima gloriosa virgo...</i> (cont'd) ; <i>Ave mundi spes Maria</i> (indulged)
	XXII	8	(fol. 157-164)	<i>Ave mundi spes Maria</i> (cont'd) ; <i>Lamentation of St. Anselm</i>
	XXIII	8 - 1 (lacks 8)	(fol. 165-171)	<i>Lamentation of St. Anselm</i> (cont'd)

### Textual Contents

#### A

2<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup> : Calendar with Cisiogianus.

#### B

26<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>r</sup> : Four Gospel Readings [John 1 : 1-14, Luke 1 : 26-38a, Matthew 2 : 1-12, Mark 16 : 14-20].

38<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>r</sup> : inc. *Inviolata integra et casta es Maria...*

39<sup>v</sup> : inc. *Concede nos famulos tuos quesumus domine...*

40<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>r</sup> : alphabet, followed by basic prayers: the *Pater Noster* [coat of arms in capital P]; *Ave Maria*; *Credo*; *Benedicite dominus*; *Agimus tibi gracias rex*; *Misereatur vestri omnipotens deus*; *Confiteor deo omnipotenti*; *Ave salus mundi*; *In manus tuas domine commendo* [Ps 30 :6]; *Dominus pars hereditatis mee...* [Ps 15 :5]

47<sup>v</sup> : blank.

48<sup>r</sup>-73<sup>v</sup> : the Penitential Psalms [Ps. 6 (with coat of arms in capital D, *Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me*), 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142].

74<sup>r</sup>-83<sup>v</sup> : Litany.

84<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>r</sup> : Antiphons [*Antiphonae majores*, for 17-23 December, with prayer to St. Thomas Didymus (fol. 86<sup>r</sup>) ]

88<sup>v</sup>-100<sup>v</sup> : Psalms [Ps. 108 + 113].

100<sup>v</sup>-109<sup>r</sup> : the Athanasian Creed.

## C

110<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>r</sup>: text about the deadly sins (begins *in medias res*, as a folio has been cut out after 109).

114<sup>r</sup>-121<sup>r</sup>: Seven Joys of the Virgin, with an indulgence granted by Pope Clement VII, carrying 100 days' indulgence.

121<sup>r</sup>-122<sup>v</sup>: *Gaude sancta dei genitrix*: Prayer to Mary about the Seven Joys of the Virgin, with an indulgence of 50 days, requested by Saint Eadmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury († 1240).

123<sup>r</sup>-124<sup>r</sup>: Prayer to Christ, on the Seven Joys of the Virgin.

124<sup>r</sup>-127<sup>r</sup>: *Stabat mater*, with an indulgence given by Pope Gregory, for 100 days.

127<sup>r</sup>-134<sup>v</sup>: *O Intemerata...De te enim*, preceded by an indulgence of 300 days given by Pope John XXII.

134<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>v</sup>: *Adoro te domine Ihesu Christe*, with an indulgence by Pope Boniface for 20 days.

137<sup>v</sup>-139<sup>r</sup>: *Deprecor te domina*, with indulgence given by Pope Innocent for 240 days.

139<sup>v</sup>-140<sup>r</sup>: *Benedicatur hora qua deus homo natus est*, with indulgence by Pope John VII for 272 days.

140<sup>r</sup>-141<sup>r</sup>: *O Anima Christi*, with indulgence by Pope John VII for 10,000 days, for those who say it in the presence of the body and blood of Christ.

141<sup>r</sup>-142<sup>r</sup>: *Domine Ihesu Christe qui hanc sacratissimam carnem...*, with indulgence of 2000 years given by Pope Boniface VI.

142<sup>r</sup>-146<sup>r</sup>: *O Intemerata...O Johannes*.

146<sup>v</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>: *Intemerata virgo Maria, dei genitrix...* with an antiphon and verse (148<sup>r</sup>): *Sub tuum presidium...* and with indulgence by Pope Celestinus the hermit for 100 days.

148<sup>v</sup>: *Ave dulcissima gloriosa virgo...*

153<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>v</sup>: *Ave mundi spes Maria*, with indulgence given by Pope Boniface for 40 days.

157<sup>v</sup>-170<sup>v</sup>: The «Lamentation of St. Anselm», *Domine Ihesu Christe redemptio mea...* [with coat of arms in lower margin on 157<sup>v</sup>].

## Appendix B

### Cisiojanus

What follows is the French text of the Cisiojanus as it is found in our manuscript, with the mention of the saints or feasts involved and a tentative translation into English. Some of the words in the stanzas seem to have been inserted in order to complete the required number of syllables, or to satisfy the rhyme scheme. Likewise, several words are flexible in their pronunciation and actually demand different pronunciations in different parts of the text : ‘Jehan’ can count as one syllable or as two, ‘Marie’ as two or three, according to the number of syllables needed in the line. The towns or villages mentioned seem to point to the North of France as the place of origin, as do some linguistic features. More local saints seem to come from the North (Picardy) as well : Vedastus, Fermin, Remigius, Quentin. The mention in October that ‘the French have regained the upper hand, but...’ might refer to events of the Hundred Years’ War between 1429 (the French take Orléans) and 1450 (the English loose Caen).

*fol. 3<sup>v</sup> (January, 31 days)*

[TEXT FROM MANUSCRIPT]<sup>30</sup>

[SAINTS AND FEASTS

MENTIONED]

En jan vier, que les ROYS ve nus sont,	6 Epiphany
GUILLAU me dit : FRE min MOR font.	10 William, 13 Fermin, 15 Maurus
AN thoin boit le jour VIN cent fois,	17 Anthony, 22 Vincent
POL lus en sont tous ses dois.	25 Paul

TRANSLATION <sup>31</sup> :

In January, when the Kings have come, William says : Fermin has developed catarrh. Anthony drinks wine during the day, a hundred times, so all his fingers are stained.

COMMENTS <sup>32</sup> :

The situations described (having a catarrh and drinking lots of wine) might be fitting for the cold season. All the other copies of version **R**, as well as the *Compost 1496* (**C**), give ‘Glaume’ in the second line instead of the longer ‘Guillaume’ that is found in our manuscript, thus making a line of 7 syllables. The total count for the month is then 9 syllables (first line) + 7 + 8 + 7 = 31.

<sup>30</sup> Where necessary we have ensured that the syllabic construction is correct. We have added punctuation, and print the syllables that indicate feast days in capitals.

<sup>31</sup> Our translation follows the original text as closely as possible.

<sup>32</sup> In the Comments we give possible explanations, and print the full version of the Cisiojanus exactly as it is contained in the 1496 edition of the *Kalendrier et Compost des Bergers*, which is sometimes quite different.

The *Compost 1496* has a different version for lines 3 and 4, and accounts for Saints Sebastian (20) and Agnes (21) :

En.ian.uier.que.les.roys.ve.nus.sont.Glau.me.dit.fre.min.mor.font:

An.thoi.ne.seb.ag.vin.cent.boit.Pol.doit.plus.quon.ne.luy.doit.

BnF lat 13268 misquotes the second line, and then continues with the *Compost* version (only for this month !):

En / ianvier / que / les / roys / ve : nuz / sont

Glau / me / dit / fre / mor / fant.

An / tou / ne / seb / ag / vin / cent / boit.

Pol / doit / plu / quon / ne / luy / doit.

*fol. 5<sup>v</sup> (February, 28 days)*

Au CHAN de lier A ga the beut,	2 Candlemas, 5 Agatha
Mais le vin si fort l'es meut	
Qu'il tu a pres d'Au si	
PIER res, MA thi as AUS si.	22 Peter, 24 Matthew, 27 Audebert

TRANSLATION :

At Candlemas Agatha drank, but the wine disturbed her so much that it killed, near to Auchy, Peter, and Matthew as well.

COMMENTS :

The link between a drunk Agatha and the killing of Peter and Matthew is not clear. Ausi might be Auchy (near Hesdin), in the Department Pas-de-Calais (62). Syllable scheme : 8 + 7 + 6 + 7 = 28. The *Compost 1496* has a different version with other rhymes, and gives one more saint (Julienne, 16) :

A:chan:de:leur:a:gath:vient:A:pa:ris:y:men:sour uient.

Et:iu:li:en:de:pois:sy. Pier.re:ma:thi:as:aus:sy.

*fol. 7<sup>v</sup> (March, 31 days)*

AU bin dit que mars est pril leux.	1 Albinus
C'est mon, fait GRE goir, il est feux ,	12 Gregory
Et tout prest de don ner des eaux.	
MA ri e dit : il est caux.	25 Annunciation, Lady Day

TRANSLATION :

Albinus says that March is changeable. That's right, says Gregory, it's fire, and quite ready to give water. Mary says it's hot.

COMMENTS :

The last word ('caux') is problematic. It might be the northern French variant of 'chaud', hot. The stanza refers to the changing weather conditions in March. Syllable count : 8 + 8 + 8 + 7 = 31. The *Compost 1496* gives a different version, with different rhymes for the last two lines, and one more saint (Benedict, 21) :

Au.bin.dit.que.mars.est.pril.leux.Cest.mon.fait.gri.go.ret.fril.leux.

Quen.fe.rons.nous.be.noist.a.dit.Ma.rie.point.ne.res.pon.dit.

*fol. 9<sup>v</sup> (April, 30 days)*

En a vril AM broi se vint	4 Ambrose
droit a LE on, là se tint.	10 Leo
En son temps e stoit en bal le	
GEOR ge, MAR chant de go dal le.	23 George, 25 Mark

## TRANSLATION :

In April Ambrose came straight to Laon, and stayed there. In his times was in business George, merchant of beer ( ?)

## COMMENTS :

‘Balle’ in the third line means ‘bale’ or ‘packet of merchandise’. One might therefore translate the line as ‘he was in business’. ‘Leon’ could be the northern French city of Laon. The official feast day for St. Leo (Pope) is April 11, but in some calendars his feast is on April 10. The word ‘godalle’ (three syllables) could be linked to ‘good ale’, another reference to drinking, but it could refer as well to a sort of small fishes. Syllable count : 7 + 7 + 8 + 8 = 30. The *Compost 1496* alters all the lines, and skips pope Leo (10) :

En/a/uril/am/broi/se/beu/uoit/Du/mil/leur/vin/quil/a/uoit  
Quant/vint/qui/tout/a/che/ta/Gor/ge/marc/hans/et/le/pay/a.

*fol. 11<sup>v</sup> (May, 31 days)*

JA ques CROIX dit que JEHAN est moy.	1 James, 3 Cross, 6 John
Ni co las dit : il est vray	9 Nicolas
HON no rez sont sai gez et sozt,	16 Honorius
Car mes, AU gu stins et bi gotz.	26 Augustine

## TRANSLATION :

James – I think – says that John is me (Or ? James says : I think John is me). Nicolas says : that’s true. Blessed are wise and fools, Carmelites, Augustinians and bigots.

## COMMENTS :

The stanza focuses on the question ‘wise or foolish’ ? The first line reads almost the same in all known versions, and might be understood as ‘Jacques dit : croix que Jehan est moy’ ? ‘Jehan’ should be pronounced like modern ‘Jean’. However *Mercure 1746* gives : « Jacques Croix que Jehan & moy », where ‘Jehan’ counts for two syllables. The rhyme ‘moy’~‘vray’ seems to point to the Picard dialect, spoken in the area in which Ausi (February), Laon (April), and Ham (October) are situated. Syllable count : 8 + 7 + 8 + 8 = 31. The *Compost 1496* version presents us with some variants, that imply another date for Saint Honorius (20) and the two new saints Urbanus (25) and Germain (28). On the contrary Saint Augustine (26) has disappeared :

Ja:ques:croix:dient:que:Jhan:ses:may:Ni:co:las:dit:il:est:vray.  
Sai:ges:et:sozt:hon:no:res:sont.Quant:vr:bain:et:ger:main:le:sont

*fol. 13<sup>v</sup> (June, 30 days)*

En juing a l'on bien sou vent	
grant soif, ou BAR na bé ment.	11 Barnabas
En son temps fut prins con ler res	
Damp JEHAN, E loy et Damp PIER res.	24 John, 25 Eligius, 29 Peter

## TRANSLATION :

In June one is quite often very thirsty, or Barnabas is lying ! In his times Saint John was considered a thief, [as were] Eligius and Saint Peter.

## COMMENTS :

The verse describes two unrelated events, one about the hot weather and the other about saints as thieves (possibly resulting from the need to find a rhyming word for Pierres ?). Syllable count : 7 + 7 + 8 + 8 = 30. The version contained in *Compost 1496* alters the third line (no saints contained) :

En.iuing.on.a.bien.sou.uent.Grant.soif.ou.bar.na.be.ment.

En.ce.temps.vien.drent.de myr.re.Dou.ihan.e.loy.son.filz.pier.re.

*fol. 15<sup>v</sup> (July, 31 days)*

En juil let MAR tin se com bat,	4 Martin
et du BE noi tier saint VAAST bat.	11 Benedict, 15 Vedastus
La sur vint MAR guet MAG de lain,	20 Margaret, 22 Mary Magdalen
JAC MAR DORT, AN ne~et Ger MAIN.	25 James, 26 Marcel, 27 The seven sleepers, 28 Ann, 31 Germain

## TRANSLATION :

Martin fights in July, and he strikes St. Vedastus with the font. Mary Magdalen came along. It's no good James is sleeping, as are Anne and Germain.

## COMMENTS :

A rather boisterous start of the month, that ends with sleeping saints ! The last line presents us with a problem : there seem to be too many syllables, so maybe we should read : JAC MAR DORT, ANne et ger MAIN. SYLLABLE count then : 8 + 8 + 8 + 7 = 31. The last line is slightly different in the series printed by Langlois in 1841 (see note 14) : 'Jac An dor Sam son et Germain', and in Houghton Lat.251, '[...] dor.en.ger. main'. In *Compost 1496* it is completely different : all the saints mentioned are replaced with Saint Christopher (25) with his staff :

En/iuil/let/mar/tin/se/com/bat.Et/du/be/noi/tier/saint/vast/bat

La/sour/uint/mar/guet/mag/de/lain.Cri/sto/fle/ba/ston/en/main.

*fol. 17<sup>v</sup> (August, 31 days)*

PIER res et os on get toit	1 Peter
a près LAU rens qui bru loit.	10 Lawrence
MA ri e lors se print a brai re.	15 Assumption
BERT he le my fait JEHAN tai re.	24 Bartholomew, 29 John the Baptist

## TRANSLATION :

Stones and bones people threw at Lawrence, who was burning. Mary then started to bray. Bartholomew makes John keep quiet.

## COMMENTS :

These are all invented details on saints' lives, apart from the legendary grilling of St. Lawrence. Syllable count : 7 + 7 + 9 + 8 = 31. In *Compost 1496* it is Saint Stephen (added on the 3<sup>rd</sup>) who throws the stones :

Pier:res:es:tien:ne:gec:toit.A:pres:lau:rent:qui:bru:loit.

Ma:rie:print:cry:er:et:brai:re.Que:bar:the:le:my:fit:ihan:tai:re.

*fol. 19<sup>v</sup> (September, 30 days)*

GIL les, a ce que je vois,	1 Giles
MA rie toy, se TU me CROIX,	8 Nativity Our Lady, 12 Turin, 14 Cross
et pri e des nop ces MA thieu,	21 Matthew
son filz FRE min, COS me~et Mi cheu.	25 Fermin, 27 Cosmas, 29 Michael

## TRANSLATION :

Giles, as I see it, get married, if you believe me, and invite to the wedding Matthew, his son Fermin, Cosmas and Michael.

## COMMENTS :

A family wedding to recall the saints. The Verard version of 1497 (Drigsdahl 2002) and the *Compost 1496* give for the third line : 'et prie de tes nopces Mathieu'. *Mercur 1746* reads for the last line : 'Son fils Fremin Cosme Micheu.' Syllable count : 7 + 7 + 8 + 8 = 30. *Compost 1496* :

Gil/les/a/ce/que/ie/voys.Ma/ries/toy/se/tu/me/croix.

Et/prie/de/tes/nop/ces/ma/thieu.Son/filz/fre/min/cos/met/mi/chieu.

*fol. 21<sup>v</sup> (October, 31 days)*

RE mis sont FRAN çois en vi gueur.	1 Remigius, 4 Francis of Assisi
DE nis n'en est point bien as seur,	9 Denis
car LUC est pri SON nier a Han,	18 Luke, 21 Eleven Thousand Virgins
CRES pin et SY mon a QUEN.	25 Crispin, 28 Simon, 31 Quentin

## TRANSLATION :

The French have regained the upper hand, but Denis is not so sure about that, because Luke is prisoner at Ham, Crispin and Simon in Caen.

## COMMENTS :

This stanza seems to refer to events of the Hundred Years' War. 'Han' could be the modern Ham in the Département de la Somme (80); Caen is in Normandy (Département du Calvados, 14). In 1429, after the capture of Orléans by Joan of Arc and her troops and the ensuing battle of Patay (victory for the French), the general feeling was that the tide in the Hundred Years' War had turned. But at that time Caen was still in the hands of the English, and the seigneurie of Ham (in Picardy, on the Somme, with a castle) was owned by John II of Luxembourg, who had chosen the side of the English. In fact it was one of his men who captured Joan of Arc during the siege of Compiègne (1430). In 1434 the town, with its English garrison, was taken by the French.

In *Mercur* 1746 the second line reads : 'Denis n'en est point trop asseur' and the last line is : 'Crespin & Symon à Caën.' It is remarkable that the *Compost* 1496 version, that in so many places differs from the Oxford text, gives exactly the same text as **R**. Syllable count : 8 + 8 + 8 + 7 = 31. *Compost* 1496 :

Re:mys:sont:fran:coys:en:vi:gueur.De:nis:nen:est:pas:bien:as:seur  
Car:luc:est:pri:son:nier:a:han.Cres:pin:et:sy:mon:a:quen.

*fol. 23<sup>v</sup> (November, 30 days)*

SAINS MORS sont les gens bien eu rez,	1 All Saints, 2 All Souls
Com dit MAR tin du Biez.	11 Martin
Aus si fait Por rus de [Mi lan],	
CLE ment, KA the rin et SAT AN.	23 Clement, 25 Katherine, 29 Saturninus, 30 Andrew

## TRANSLATION :

The holy deceased are the beatified people, as Martin du Biez says. Porrus says the same [and] Clement, Katherine, and Satan ( ? ).

## COMMENTS :

In this stanza we find the only notable difference between our manuscript and the versions given by Drigsdahl and Wagner. Lines 2-4 read : 'Com dit Mar tin du bien | Aus si fait por tus de mil lan | Cle ment, Ka the rin et sat An' in Drigsdahl 2002, while Wagner 1862 prints 'Martin du biez' and 'Porrus' as in our manuscript. The rhyme would plead for ('bien eurez'~ ) Martin du Biez, but just as Porrus (de Milan ? this name has been skipped in our manuscript) he has not been identified. Syllable count : 8 + 6 + 8 + 8 = 30. Again it's lines 2 and 3 that are different in *Compost* 1496; they imply the introduction of Saints Brice (13) and Aignan (17), and the disappearance of the enigmatic Porrus :

Saint/mors/sont/les/gens/bien/eu/reux.Con/dit/mar/tin/bri/ci/eux.  
Lors/ai/gnen/vint/de/mil/lan.Cle/ment/ka/the/ri/ne/sat/an.

*fol.25<sup>v</sup> (December, 31 days)*

E loy fait BARB a CO lart.	1 Eligius, 4 Barbara, 6 Nicholas
MA ri e cri e : LU ce art,	8 Conception of Our Lady, 13 Lucy
dont en grant i re THO mas meut.	21 Thomas



De NO é JEHAN IN no cens fut.	25 Noel, 27 John, 28 Innocents
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## TRANSLATION :

Eligius challenges Nicholas. Mary shouts : Lucy is burning, which got Thomas very cross. John was not guilty of Christmas (or ? had nothing to do with Christmas).

## COMMENTS :

A series of seemingly unrelated events, leading up to Christmas (Noël) and Innocents' Day. Syllable count :  $7 + 8 + 8 + 8 = 31$ . The version in *Compost 1496* is almost identical :

E.loy.fait.bar.ba.co.lart.Ma.rie.se.plaint.que.lu.cet.art.

Don.par.grant.i.re.tho.mas.mut.De.no.es.ihan.in.no.cent.fut.

## Appendix C

### Illustrations

(fig. 1) Alphabet and *Pater Noster*, in the so-called Prayerbook of Marguerite de Ste Maure. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup>.

(fig. 2) Coat of arms in a decorated initial, from Part B of the manuscript. Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>.

(fig. 3) Coat of arms in the lower margin, from Part C of the manuscript Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 157<sup>v</sup>.

(fig. 4) First version of the *O Intemerata*. Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 127<sup>v</sup>.

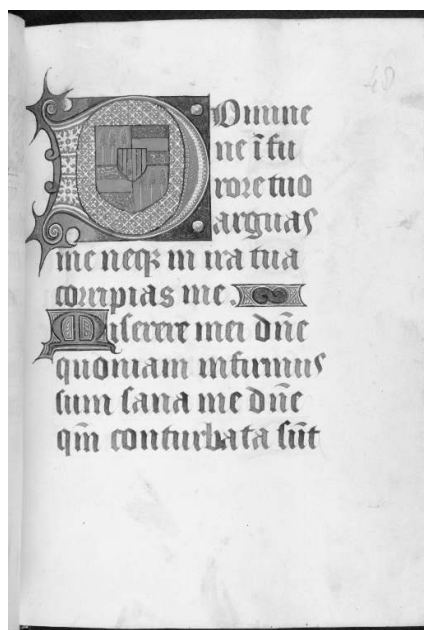
(fig. 5) Second version of the *O Intemerata*. Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 142<sup>r</sup>.

(fig. 6) New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton MS 287, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.

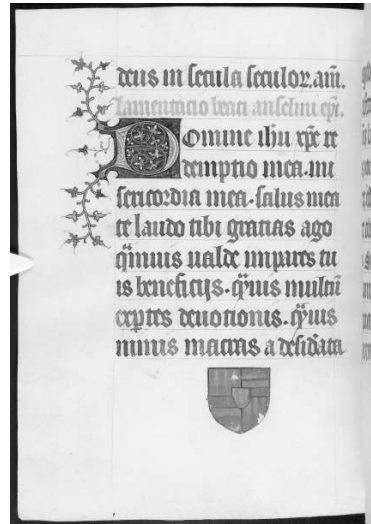
(fig. 7) Cisiojanus poem for January, and beginning of calendar for February. Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>.



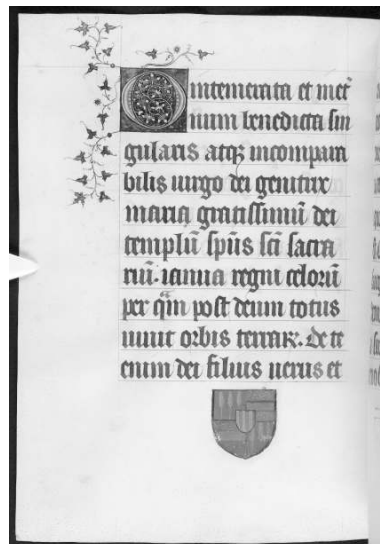
(fig. 1) Alphabet and *Pater Noster*, in the so-called Prayerbook of Marguerite de Ste Maure. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 39<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup>.



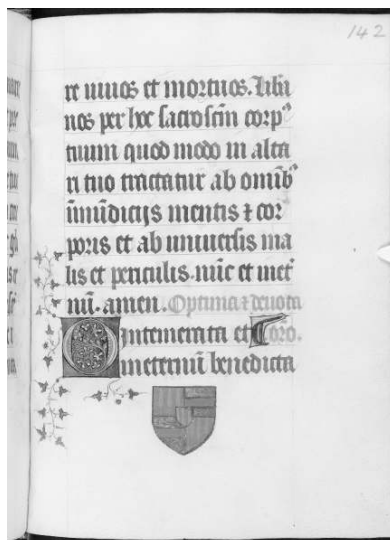
(fig. 2) Coat of arms in a decorated initial, from Part B of the manuscript. Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>.



(fig. 3) Coat of arms in the lower margin, from Part C of the manuscript.  
Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 157v.



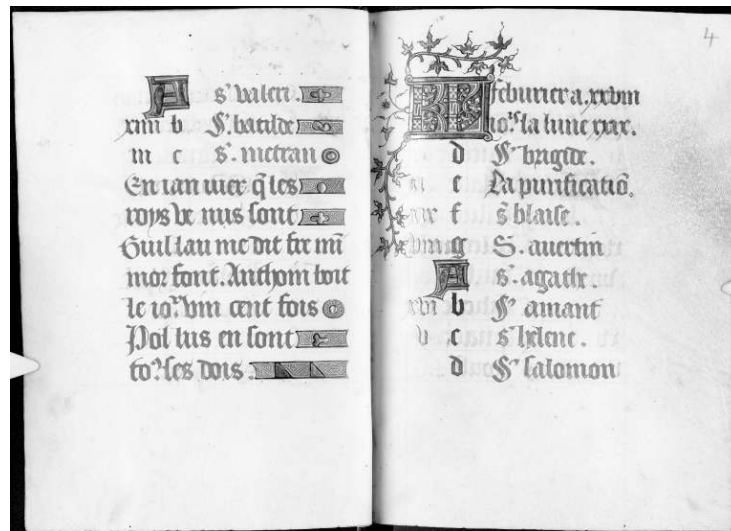
(fig. 4) First version of the *O Intemerata*.  
Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 127v.



(fig. 5) Second version of the *O Intemerata*.  
Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 142<sup>r</sup>.



(fig. 6) Alphabet and *Pater Noster* in a child's manuscript written in silver.  
New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library,  
Plimpton MS 287, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.



(fig. 7) Cisiojanus poem for January, and beginning of calendar for February.  
Oxford, BL, Rawl. Liturg. E. 40, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>.